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LIFE IN ANCIENT GAUL

By WALTER A. EDWARDS
Pasadena, California

IT MIGHT naturally be assumed that the various tribes distributed over the wide territory known as ancient Gaul were incapable of united action. Each tribe had its own dialect, its own government, its own customs and institutions. But in spite of all these factors tending to division and isolation, they had a consciousness of a common origin and a common destiny; and whenever one tribe was threatened by a common enemy they readily united to beat off the foe. Moreover, intercommunication between tribes even widely separated was rendered easy by the network of roads which extended from the Mediterranean to Belgium, and from the Rhine to the ocean. And the readiness and speed with which Caesar's army made their marches (*B. G.* i, 10, ii, 2 and 3; v, 48) seems to indicate that these roads were kept in good condition. Caesar mentions many bridges—over the Rhine (i, 6), the Axona (ii, 5), the Liger (vii, 11), the Elaver (vii, 34), the Sequana (vii, 58). And the numerous rivers offered easy transportation by boat.

One bond of union was found in the religion common to all Celts, Druidism. The organization of the priests of this faith covered the whole of Gaul, and their authority was uniform everywhere. Strabo (iv, 4, 4) tells us that the Druids even arbitrated cases of war, and made opponents stop when they were about to line up for battle (cf. Diodorus Siculus v, 31).

The teaching of the Druids seems to have had little moral value. They had their theories about the stars and their motions, the size of the earth, the forces of nature, the power of the gods. They taught that the soul is immortal, and that at death it crosses the western sea to enter upon an endless life in the land of the blessed. So vivid was this conception of the survival of the spirit after death that the Gauls often wrote letters to the dead, and threw them on funeral pyres (Diodorus Siculus v, 28, 6). And it was said that a Gaul might be induced to lend money to be repaid in the next world.

Like other primitive peoples, the Gauls practiced human sacrifice. Great structures of basket-work, imitating roughly the human form, were filled with condemned criminals, and the whole con-

sumed in fire. It is interesting to note that this sacrifice of living victims by fire left its mark upon certain religious rites even as late as the time of Louis XIV. It was long the custom of the people of France, when lighting the fires of St. John, to throw into the flames various living animals, cats, moles, foxes, and wolves, shut up in wicker baskets.

ON THE FALLEN HEROES AT THERMOPYLAE

Simonides (Anth. Pal. vii, 249)
Translated by HAROLD B. JAFFEE
Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee

O xein', ageilon Lakedaimoniois hoti tede

keimetha, tois keimon rhemasi peithomenoi.

Pilgrim to Sparta, wouldst tell our fellow countrymen there that

Faithful to their command, lie we forevermore here.

However, there is reason to believe that by the end of the first century B. C. Druidism was losing its influence over the people, and definitely fading. In *B. G.* vi, 13, 14, 16-18, Caesar tells of the Druids—of their organization, their forms of worship, their authority as judges, their doctrines—but nowhere else does he mention them. Later, the edicts of Tiberius (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxx, 1, 4, 13) and Claudius (Strabo iv, 4, 5) limiting and finally forbidding the practice of the religion seem to have aroused little opposition among the Gauls. (Cf. Suetonius, *Claud.* 25) Undoubtedly Froude was right when he declared that in the time of Caesar the Druids "existed merely by habit, exercising no influence any longer over the hearts of the people," and that in the great struggle with the Romans "we find no Druids among the national leaders, no spirit of religion inspiring and consecrating the efforts of patriotism" (James A. Froude, *Caesar, a Sketch*, Scribner's, 1937, p. 224).

The Gauls were no barbarians. To be sure, their manner of life was in many respects quite primitive. Their villages consisted of a few huts grouped together about a marketplace, encircled perhaps with a stockade. Cicero, in *De Provinciis Consularibus*, 12, says that these villages are most unsightly. (Cf. Diodorus Siculus v, 25.) And Strabo (iv, 4, 3) de-

scribes their houses in detail. "Built," he says, "of planks and wattles of reeds, spacious and round in shape, covered with heavy arched roofs and thatch . . . their only chimney was a hole in the roof . . . (they had) small windows without glass, closed by outside shutters." In an ancient bas-relief we see a representation of such a house; it looks like a gigantic beehive.

The Gallic people were much interested in hunting, but they cultivated their fields and raised cattle, hogs, sheep, and geese. We are told that they did not bring their geese to market in carts, but made them walk the whole distance, believing that the flesh was better if the goose was tired. Their breed of horses was exceptionally good, and Gallic horses were prized everywhere (*B. G.* iv, 2). The same may perhaps be said of their carriages and carts, for we find several Latin words denoting wheeled vehicles borrowed from the Gallic—*carpentum*, *rheda*, *petorritum*, *currus*, *essedum* (Quintilian i, 5, 57). They carried on an active commerce with Britain, as is evidenced by the fact that many Gallic coins have been found in Britain, and many British coins in Gaul. They exported to Massilia and Italy linen and woolen goods, articles of bronze and plated ware, glassware, furs, agricultural implements, pork, slaves. Caesar tells us (*B. G.* iii, 21; vii, 22) of their skill in mining. Their weapons were richly decorated with gold (Diodorus Siculus v, 27 and 30; Strabo iv, 4, 5), as were also the trappings of their horses. They had developed the art of enameling to a high degree. Pliny tells us (*Nat. Hist.* xxviii, 12, 51, 191) that they invented soap. They minted their own coins. They invented all manner of dyes, being excessively fond of bright, contrasting colors, a fact that is corroborated by Vergil's description of the Gallic chiefs (*Aeneid* viii, 659-661). Their great god Teutates (the name in Celtic means "the national god"), whom Caesar (*B. G.* vi, 17) identifies with Mercury, was not the god of war, but was the inventor of the arts, and presided over travel, gainful business, and trade.

One of the products of Gallic ingenuity described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xviii, 30, 72, 296) was a harvesting machine, composed of a trough with a toothed edge, mounted on two wheels and drawn by horses, so adjusted that the ears of grain, cut off by the teeth of the machine, fell into the trough. Again, when Hannibal was delayed at the Rhone by difficulty

in crossing the river and by the opposition of certain tribes, other tribes, wishing to speed him on his way out of their country, ingeniously extemporized boats for him by hollowing out logs (Livy xxi, 26).

The Gauls were eager for education, and hired Greek teachers at public expense (Strabo iv, 1, 5). The record of the Helvetian census was written in Greek characters (*B. G. i, 29*). And yet when Caesar wished to send a message to Quintus Cicero through the lines of the enemy, he used Greek characters so that if the message should fall into the hands of the enemy they might not be able to read it (*B. G. v, 48*). Probably he assumed that the Nervii, the tribe here concerned, were ignorant of the Greek alphabet, since they had refused all contact with Massilia (*B. G. ii, 15*). On Gallic coins Greek letters are mixed with Roman. Still even their leaders, presumably the best educated among them, did not speak Latin. When Caesar wished to talk with Divitiacus (*B. G. i, 19*), he did it through an interpreter.

To the Romans the Gauls were by no means a barbarous race. In fact, we have record of various cases of intimacy and mutual respect between individual Romans and Gauls—e.g., between Caesar and Gaius Valerius Procillus (*B. G. i, 47 and 53*), between Caesar and Divitiacus (*B. G. i, 19 and 20*), and between Caesar and Viridomarus (*B. G. vii, 39*). Caesar's secretary, named Pompeius, was a Gaul (Justinus 43, 5, 11 and 12). Cicero and his brother Quintus found Divitiacus an intelligent and interesting companion (*De Divinatione i, 41, 90*).

The remarkable ingenuity of the Gauls, manifested in the affairs of everyday life, failed them in war. The Helvetians, speaking through Divico (*B. G. i, 13*), sneered at the adroit strategy of the Romans. As for themselves, they said, they had been taught by their fathers to rely upon courage in battle rather than upon cunning and treachery. Apparently their idea of a campaign was to mass all their forces for a single decisive blow, and then accept the outcome, whether favorable or unfavorable. They failed utterly to understand and to cope with Caesar's strategy, as for instance when Caesar surprised and annihilated one division of the Helvetians at the river Arar (*B. G. i, 12*), or when the Nervii attacked what they thought was one legion and found to their grief that they were engaging almost the whole Roman army (*B. G. ii, 19 ff.*), or when Sabinus tricked the Unelli into attacking his camp, to be utterly routed by the Romans (*B. G. iii, 17-19*).

After eight years of futile warfare, the Gauls gave up all idea of further resistance, and submitted unreservedly to

the rule of Rome. In fact, they made themselves an integral part of the Roman empire. They volunteered to serve in Caesar's army in the Civil War (*B. G. i, 39 and 51; iii, 59*; Cicero, *Ad Att. ix, 13, 4*); many received Roman citizenship; they conformed in large degree to the Roman manner of civil life; they even gave up their own language and learned to speak Latin. Evidence of the complete substitution of Latin for the native tongue is found in the fact that only twenty-six words derived from the

HORACE, ODES III, 30

Translated by EDITH M. A. KOVACH
Cladsey High School, Detroit, Michigan

I have built myself a monument
More durable than brass;
A monument whose tow'ring height
Doth the tombs of kings surpass.

Let rains pour down or north winds
rage—

My monument will stand
And will not feel the weight of years
Or Time's destroying hand.

I shall not ever wholly die;
The best of me will live
Beyond the hope of other men
And the days the death-gods give.

For while the Roman worship lives
And Roman hymns are sung,
My songs, my name, my praises, too
Shall be on every tongue.

* * *

Take then, Melpomene, thyself,
The glory that is thine,
And for my locks, O gracious one,
A Delphic laurel twine.

Celtic are found in modern French, and that while 10,000 inscriptions in Latin have been uncovered in various parts of France, only twenty in Celtic have been found.

Such were the Gauls in the first century B. C., and such they continued to be under Roman domination. Many of their most prominent traits of character—their keen intelligence, their extraordinary ingenuity, their quick recovery from disaster, their reckless courage, their reluctance in cooperation, their hesitation in submitting to organized government—appear in greater or lesser degree in their descendants of today.

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Caesar, to a poor reader: "Si cantas, male cantas; si legis, cantas."—Quintilian, *Inst. Orat. i, 8, 2*.

LATIN IN PUERTO RICO

BY BERTHA D. VIVES
Utuaño (Puerto Rico) High School

Your readers may be interested in a few passages translated from a letter written me by a Spanish-speaking student of Latin in one of the largest secondary schools in the island of Puerto Rico:

"It is generally believed that the study of Latin is of little use, but that is not true, for Latin is intimately related with English grammar. In our high school, there are at present two Latin classes, Latin I and Latin II, each composed of more than thirty students. . . . The class-work is not connected with the Spanish language, except that attention is called to Spanish words derived from Latin. The class is conducted in English, partly because the teacher is American, and partly because it is more difficult to translate Latin into Spanish. Our Latin II class has founded a newspaper. . . . in which we print stories and essays written by the students, in English or Latin."

It is a great pity that, in this country of predominantly Spanish culture, where outside the classroom our students hear hardly a word of any language except Spanish, Latin is accounted of little importance in the high-school and university curricula. The fact is that, of the forty-five senior high schools in the island, only two offer Latin. I recall very well a conversation that I had not long ago with a high-ranking educational official, in which he assured me that Latin has absolutely no future in our schools, and that the only foreign language of any importance for Puerto Ricans is English. This statement contains the key to the whole policy of our Department of Education with regard to nearly every subject taught in the high schools except Spanish itself. The purely pedagogical question as to whether English or Spanish should be the medium of instruction has been made a political one; and our Commissioner of Education, on orders from Washington, requires us to teach most classes in English, using textbooks in English from the States. Thus Latin, in this Latin country, is merely ancillary to the intensive teaching of English. Its true value and interest for a Spanish-speaking people are lost.

Nevertheless, the teacher who knows and loves the Latin language finds many opportunities to use it in a practical manner in his teaching. For instance, I am sometimes able to help our Spanish teachers with their unit on the history of their language by giving their pupils a little elementary explanation of the Hispanic development of the Latin language. The pupils listen with the gravest attention to the discussion, and grasp easily

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such details as the transformation of *-ct-* to *-ch-* in words like *octo*, *ocho* and *lac-tem*, *leche*, and many changes due to syncope. The liveliest discussion of all arises over the pronunciation of *z*, as in *plaza*, from Graeco-Latin *platea*. Always provocative of hearty debate, the sound gains new interest by being carried back to its origin.

In the University of Puerto Rico the future of Latin is more hopeful. Since 1944 all students of Liberal Arts have been required to take first-year Latin, which covers the same work as the two-year high-school course. Classes are conducted in Spanish; and, although the textbooks are in English, it is planned to replace them with Spanish ones.

I wonder if this little incident will amuse your readers as much as it did me. I sent a few questions to the Department of Education, asking them particularly to answer this one: "What is the attitude of the Department of Education regarding the place of Latin in the curriculum?" The answer was: "Considered a foreign language."

AGAIN, SINGING IN THE BATH

By SIDNEY P. GOODRICH
Ripon College, Wisconsin

In the November, 1945, issue of THE CLASSICAL OUTLOOK (xxiii, 16), Dr. E. S. McCartney quotes Seneca, *Epist. Mor.* 56 and Horace, *Sat. i*, 4, 76. These passages refer to the sound of voices in the bath; and Dr. McCartney wonders if the ancients ever sang in the bath. I should be surprised if they didn't. There are two passages that clearly refer to singing in the bath. These are as follows:

(1) Petronius, *Satyricon* 73—"Balneum intravimus, angustum scilicet et cisternae frigidariae simile, in quo Trimalchio rectus stabat . . . Deinde ut lassatus con-sedit, invitatus balnei sono diduxit usque

ad cameram os ebrum et coepit Menecratis cantica lacerare."

(2) Theophrastus, *Characters* 4, 14—"Kai en balanceio de asai."

Both the individuals referred to in these passages are boorish in the extreme, and I wonder if more respectable citizens ever yielded to this very human temptation!

THE INDIANA REPORT

One of the publications commemorative of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of Indiana University is *The Classics at Indiana University*, a summary of the report of a committee appointed "to study the whole question of the proper place of the classics at the University and in the schools of the state, and to suggest specific ways and means of preserving and strengthening the classical tradition." The ten members of the committee represented the departments of Latin and Greek, fine arts, philosophy, history, and English; a professor of history was the chairman.

Major headings of the report are as follows: "Meaning of the Term 'Classics'"; "Reasons for the Contemporary Status of the Classics"; "Current Educational Trends"; "The Place of the Classics in a Liberal Education"; "Vital Dependence of the Humanities in General upon the Classics"; "Conclusions and Recommendations for Strengthening Classical Studies at Indiana University."

The committee advises against requiring any Latin or Greek in the University. However, it recommends that every effort be made to emphasize the value of the classics, and to draw the attention of superior students to them. It urges that the University "boldly undertake to stress the value of humanistic studies," and that there be instituted a considerable number of "Classics-Humanities scholarships" for freshmen and sophomores. Holders of the scholarships would pursue a program "primarily humanistic, with a solid core of classical studies"—a program which could be followed, in the two upper years, by "major" work in any liberal arts subject.

Copies of this significant report may be obtained from Dr. Verne B. Schuman, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Letters

From Our Readers

"CAESAR'S FUNERAL"

A correspondent from St. Joseph Academy, South Bend, Indiana, writes: "One year our Latin students enacted 'Caesar's funeral.' A pompous *designator* went through the school yard crying that great Caesar had surrendered to death, and inviting the students to attend the funeral. A dummy representing Caesar was carried aloft in a solemn procession. The 'curule ancestors' of the dead man, wearing masks, marched in the procession, as did the 'family' and their friends, all garbed in *togis pullis*, and uttering loud lamentations. The 'slaves' of the family followed, likewise giving expression to their grief. Arrived at the 'Forum,' the procession halted, and Mark Antony's funeral oration from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* was recited. 'The body' was burned on the school's outdoor grill." The Latin club sponsor was Sister M. Diomira.

PATRIOTIC CORRELATIONS

Miss Estella Kyne, of the Wenatchee (Washington) High School, writes:

"I presume that teachers are pointing out to their Latin pupils the fact that the serial numbers of war bonds begin with a Latin prefix, so to speak; for the Roman numeral M precedes the number of the thousand-dollar bond, D that of the five-hundred-dollar bond, C that of the hundred-dollar bond, L that of the fifty-dollar bond, and Q for *quartus*, a fourth of a hundred, that of the twenty-five dollar bond.

"One of the students in my advanced class in Latin called my attention to the article, 'The Button Man,' in the November 30, 1945, issue of Yank. The article mentioned a theory that the design on the veterans' discharge button was derived ultimately from a bas-relief in Trajan's Forum in Rome; but the designer of the button, Anthony de Francisci, did not corroborate that theory. On a souvenir spoon which I got in 1930 in Rome there is the same spread eagle in a wreath; in this case the wreath has unmistakable leaves in it. The wreath on the discharge emblem has a plain surface in the upper half, and vertical lines in the lower part. On our three-cent Victory stamp there is an eagle in a wreath, also. This general design is certainly similar to an old Roman one, and I wish this could be called to the attention of teachers who are trying to stress the Roman influence on modern life."

(Editor's Note: Perhaps unconsciously the designers of the stamp and of the discharge button were influenced by the famous "eagle within an oak wreath," a relief of the age of Trajan, now in the portico of the church of the SS. Apostoli in Rome. It has been much imitated, in many parts of the world. It can be seen well in Figure 370, page 87, of Volume II of Eugenie Strong's *Art in Ancient Rome*, New York, Scribner's, 1928.)

A CICERO BOOKLET

Miss Claire B. Douglass, of Syracuse, N. Y., writes:

"One of my third-year students prepared a versified account of the Catilinarian conspiracy. Printed by hand in India ink, it made a twelve-page folder. The cover was decorated with an imaginary portrait of Catiline."

ENROLLMENTS

Mrs. Hazel K. Pullman, of the Garnett (Kansas) High School, writes:

"Latin is on the 'up' this year in Garnett High School, just when some persons are crying that Latin is about to die."

Increased enrollments in the classics are also reported for several high schools in Texas by *The Latin Leaflet* of that state.

A correspondent from Indiana writes:

"In several institutions of higher learning, the beginning of the post-war period has witnessed a marked interest in things classical. Among these institutions is Hanover College, which in the current year and even during the war has continued to maintain its strong classical tradition. As for the Latin and Greek language courses, Dr. Mars M. Westington reports that Hanover's classical 'majors' today actually outnumber those who specialized in this branch of learning in the halcyon peacetime period. The same situation prevails in the related courses of study, viz. classical civilization, derivatives, and classical literature in translation. The enrollment in all of these has risen very sharply in recent years. The greatest change has occurred in the last mentioned course; partly because of the fact that all English 'majors' are now required to take Greek literature in translation, the course now stands at three hundred per cent of its normal peacetime strength. The steady growth of classical studies at Hanover points to a bright future."

Dr. R. L. Ropp, of Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana, writes:

"In recognition of the increased emphasis on foreign languages in the post-war world, and of the place of Latin in a liberal education, Northwestern State College of Louisiana, after a period of four years without instruction in Latin, has appointed Dr. Jonah W. Skiles as

Associate Professor of Latin to reinstate instruction in Latin. On demand of the faculty and students, Dr. Skiles was requested also to give beginning German (which had not been offered for many years), with an additional special class offered for faculty members. It is an interesting indication of trends in foreign language study that the enrollments in the beginning classes in Latin and German are only slightly smaller than those in French and Spanish, and that there is an increased interest in foreign languages in general at Northwestern State College."

Mr. John K. Colby, of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., writes:

"Here at Andover we have quite a lot more in advanced Latin than we have had for several years."

THE STATUS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

Mr. Edward Coyle, of the Stuyvesant High School, New York City, writes:

"Never mind the small number of students specializing in the classics in our colleges. Nothing will produce a change for the better in this situation unless a terrific drive is put on by the colleges of liberal arts to fight the influences of the teachers' colleges on elementary and high school education. College professors must continue to expose the ignorance of their students, growing denser in spite of the enormous sums spent, or rather wasted, on American education. They must hammer away upon the general ignorance of English grammar and English and American literature. They should attack easy subjects, low standards, laxity of discipline, 100% promotion. These are the real evils; and unless they are removed, some of the college professors of the classics will have no students at all to teach."

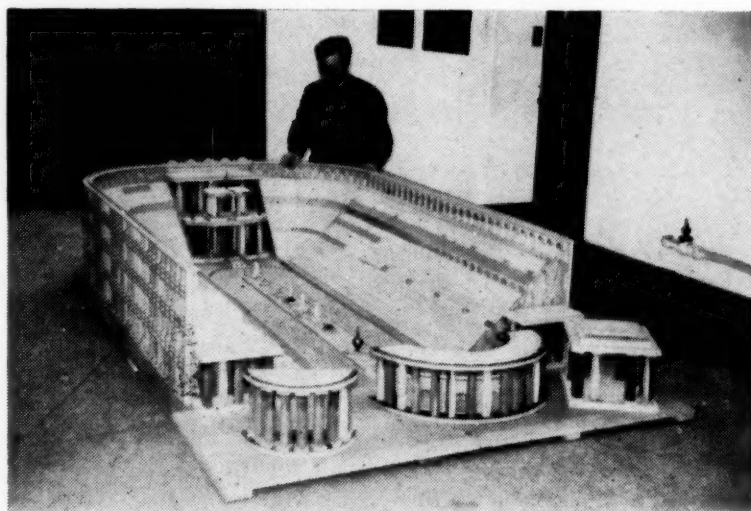
A MODEL OF THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS

REV. A. M. GUENTHER, S. J., of Canisius College, Buffalo, New York, has recently completed a model of the Circus Maximus, the sixteenth in a series of carefully constructed scale replicas of famous buildings of antiquity.

Father Guenther writes as follows of the manner in which he surmounted technical difficulties in the construction of the model:

"The construction of the Circus Maximus presented the usual difficulties in the securing of materials in war-time. The wood left over from other odd jobs was sufficient to construct the model; but the ornamentation had me guessing for some time. The spina in the Circus Maximus was, as you know, ornamented with many bronze statues and ornaments. Bronze seemed out of the question for the time being. I did not care to use a bronze cover-up paint. I happened to speak to an agent from one of the mills here, and he gave me a valuable suggestion. He recommended that I visit a furniture factory near here, which had a heap of discarded bronze ornaments, which had been used on old models of furniture. So, to the furniture factory I went; and lo and behold! I really got some classical ornaments for the project—obelisks, some Roman-looking half-statues, victory wreaths, etc.

"I decided to put on the model some banners to represent the various *factiones*. For these I called into service an elderly lady whose delight it is to make flags of various sorts.



A MODEL OF THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS

By REV. A. M. GUENTHER, S. J.
Courtesy of the Canisius College Griffin

"In the actual construction I ran into another difficulty. On the curve I could not make things fit, for one reason or another. So, to overcome the mechanical defect I posted signs saying 'Men at Work,' and put near them certain small objects which look like working implements! The comment of visitors is invariably, 'Look! They are still working! How natural they look!'"

Father Guenther's skill in carpentry led to the adoption of his unusual hobby. Most of his leisure time is devoted to the construction of his models, the Circus Maximus alone having required 286 hours of work.

LATIN RECORDINGS

By ROBERT T. BROWN
Los Angeles College

During the past five years we have been using in our classes recordings of simple Latin conversation, excerpts from Cicero's orations, the dactylic hexameter of Vergil, and the lyric poetry of Horace and Catullus. This aid to the teaching of Latin has proved so beneficial that we shall not only continue using the records, but shall expand our number of them. The records are easy to make, and record players are in common use. We find that the recordings attune the ears of the students to the sound of spoken Latin; they enlarge vocabulary; they make it easy to demonstrate the sounds of Latin to people who have never had an opportunity for the study of the language. A local university found them of great value in demonstrating to students in a class in ancient literature in translation how the actual language sounded.

Of course, this is not a new device. Phonograph records in Latin have been available for a long time. We have simply used modern equipment to make recordings particularly suited for the use of our own classes.

Our classroom method in using the records is as follows: The contents of the recording, printed or mimeographed, are first studied in class. Then the record is played for the first time, and the students follow the text while listening to the record. This allows the student to use both his eyes and his ears in learning. When a student has listened to a recording often enough to be able to grasp the thought without looking at the script, he is considered to have mastered the record.

One of our recordings consists of excerpts from Cicero's first oration against Catiline. The students cannot be expected to grasp every word of the Latin;

but the use of the record does seem to give the students some sense of accomplishment, and it does enable the teacher to learn which of them have grasped the content of the oration.

We sometimes have the students make up as many questions and answers as possible, with the vocabulary of the recordings. These are corrected, and then read to the class.

We have been asked why we do not just read the Latin to our students. Why use recordings? Because the students like them. They take them home, and listen to them there. They sometimes make their own home recordings, and improve their own pronunciation and reading facility *sua sponte*. They voluntarily memorize Latin phrases, and their Latin vocabulary improves markedly.

Visitors have noted the success we have with the records, and have often asked us why they are so popular with the students. Is it their novelty? Is it that the recordings help to prove that Latin is not a dead language? Does the personality of the speaker who makes the record have anything to do with it? We do not know, exactly; but we do know that one day a week devoted to recordings in a Latin class is not spent in vain.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS PROJECT—AN APPEAL FOR AID

By B. L. ULLMAN
University of North Carolina

We have heard much in recent years—and rightly so—about the Founding Fathers of our country, and the importance of returning to their ideals. It is not always realized, however, that a return to the Founding Fathers means a return to the classics, for most of the Founding Fathers of our country were steeped in classical learning.

The Council of the American Classical League has approved of several interesting projects concerned with the Founding Fathers and the classics. In one of these the readers of THE CLASSICAL OUTLOOK can help. This project calls for the reading, by volunteers, of the published writings of the Founding Fathers, and the culling from them of all classical material—quotations, allusions, and the like. It is hoped that this material can ultimately be published in book form, both to supply source material and to furnish an impressive display of the influence of the classics in the formation of our nation.

Those who are interested should communicate with the writer of this note, for further particulars. Address him at the

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

SOME RECENT RESEARCHES AND THEIR BEARING ON THE STUDY OF LATIN

By JOSEPH G. COHEN
Professor of Education
Brooklyn College

(NOTE: In THE CLASSICAL OUTLOOK for January, 1945, pages 38-40, Professor Cohen discussed the classics in the curriculum, from an educationist's point of view. This article elaborates some educational trends mentioned in the earlier paper.)

IN THIS paper I should like to deal very briefly first with the widespread misconception about the transfer of learning, and then with some recent developments in studies that should be of concern to all Latinists.

If there were no theory of disciplinary values, it would be necessary to create one—not so that the mathematicians and classicists might survive, but because the booming confusion of competing sciences, competing techniques, competing culture products compels us to seek a principle of selection. To fail to do so is to surrender ourselves to a chaos of pressures: social, political, economic, vulgarian, phantastic, and even psychopathic. The duty of the educator who moves in the midst of the arsenal of conflicting demands that are made on education, but is not overwhelmed by it, is to find a touchstone in those studies that are potentially most educative. *Educative* and *disciplinary* are as nearly synonymous as two words may be; for a curriculum is only a sampling of cultural experience, and can never be total preparation for the future.

Sanction for some rather broad generalizations about the limitations of transfer has usually been found in statistical comparisons. But it is doubtful whether those who are most frequently quoted on this point were quite so sure that their inquiries settled the matter. "Disciplinary values," concluded Thorndike, "may be real and deserve weight, but the weights should be reasonable"; and that means, I venture to remark, that the answer is to be sought elsewhere. Well, the answer has been sought elsewhere, and evidence is rapidly accumulating. I refer, for example, to the contributions made by the Gestaltists in psychology. The evidence calls for a drastic revision of conclusions that were so generally accepted a decade ago, and which it is now realized are hardly tenable.

Transfer, it has been clearly established, depends more on the quality of the thinking that goes into the learning process than it does on the nature of the

facts acquired or on the degree of skill obtained.

"The business of education," and I quote John Dewey, *How We Think*, page 27, "is to cultivate deep-seated and effective habits of discriminating tested beliefs from mere assertions, guesses, and opinions; to develop a lively, sincere, and open-minded preference for conclusions that are properly grounded, and to ingrain into the individual's working habits methods of inquiry and reasoning appropriate to the various problems that present themselves. No matter how much an individual knows as a matter of hearsay and information, if he has not attitudes and habits of this sort, he is not intellectually educated. He lacks the rudiments of mental discipline. And since these habits are not a gift of nature (no matter how strong the aptitude for acquiring them), the main object of education is to supply conditions that make for their cultivation. The formation of these habits is the Training of the Mind."

One dreads to contemplate how some of Dr. Dewey's disciples would behave if they were confronted with the statement I have just quoted from the work of the master.

There is a rapidly accumulating body of evidence on the complexity of thinking processes and their inter-relatedness. Inevitably, all this will reach the schoolmen. When it does, we shall by no means relapse into an uncritical reliance on automatic transfer values; but we shall be done for all time with the naive notion that the effects of learning can be assessed by a little job involving correlations.

The time has long since passed when subjects could be allotted their places in a curriculum and could be relied upon to stay in their places. It is therefore necessary, if we are to form a dependable judgment of where Latin is, to note the direction in which educational thought is moving in related fields. Of the developments in scholarship outside the field of Latin studies, and still related to it, the most important in recent years seems to me to be an upsurge of interest in the study of language. I am referring not to the study of this or that foreign tongue, but rather to what is sometimes called the *universe of discourse*. Inquiries into the properties of language are being pressed with a vigor that has not previously been applied to questions of linguistic communication. And there is scarcely an academic field in which such studies are not being cultivated. Ogden and Richards for the humanities; Hogben and Russell for mathematics; Pound and Arnold for law; Malinowski and Sapir for anthropology; Bridgman and Whitehead for philosophy—the list is an ever

growing one. It is a sign of the times that a committee appointed by the former Progressive Education Association to study the function of English in general education published its report under the title, *Language in General Education*. We are, thanks to such study, approaching a clearer understanding of the relations of language to experience and of language to thought.

The last half-century has witnessed a development in historical and descriptive linguistics which in the opinion of a qualified scholar "is one of the triumphs of nineteenth century science." There is scarcely a language phenomenon which, thanks to advances in this field, may not be better understood today than yesterday. The concept of correctness and incorrectness; the relations between oral language and writing, between meaning and grammatical structure, between meaning and word order—into these and related matters, there are persistent inquiries. The methods employed in linguistic studies of this kind, and the results, too, are destined to change our ideas of what we are about when we teach English. Such studies promise to reveal in what respects the teaching of English differs from and in what ways it collaborates with the teaching of Latin. Such studies may reveal, moreover, how the learning of the Latin differs from the learning of a modern foreign language.

I think we may look forward to a cross-fertilization between the pollen of linguistic study and the hospitable seed of psychologic analysis. As a result of this union we shall, perhaps for the first time, come into possession of true insight into the mental events that occur when a learner studies Latin. The understanding of the mental steps which are taken in the translating of a Latin sentence into English, or the considerably different acts involved in the translation of an English sentence into the Latin—such understanding can come only from an analysis of the psychological processes involved.

If such analytic study has been seriously undertaken and carried through in the past, I am unaware of the fact. In order to do it well, the analyst would have to be sensitive to the morphology of language elements and the learning difficulties of what he is attempting to assess.

It is to psycho-linguistic studies of this kind rather than to statistical correlations that one must look for further illumination about the disciplinary value of Latin.

The theme of "Latin Week" in 1946 is "The Latin Humanities in American Life." For further details and for material, address Professor W. C. Korfmacher, Saint Louis University, St. Louis 3, Mo.

THE RISE OF ONE-MAN POWER IN ANCIENT ROME

By MARGUERITE POHLE
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WITH the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, the seventh of the traditional kings, in about 510 B.C., Rome entered upon her second period of history, the period known erroneously as the republic; for since Rome was ruled during that time by the Senate, it was in reality an oligarchy rather than a republic.

The Caesar student will acquire a better understanding of Roman history, of "how Caesar fits into the picture," if he can trace through this period the various men who broke through the power of the Senate, and if he can see how the tendency toward "one-man power" continued all through the period, until the republic finally was lost and one man, as emperor, took control of the government.

During the entire period of the republic, the Senate was continuously harassed by assailants to Roman liberty and to its own power. The fear of another Tarquin—a king—rang terror in the hearts of the Romans. And so the Senate stood ever ready, strongly guarded to thwart any attempt of any man who appeared to it to be dangerous.

In 486 B.C., Spurius Cassius, a patrician, in his third consulship proposed that "the lands acquired in recent war be allotted in small amounts to the needy Romans and Latins," and that "some of the public land occupied by the rich patricians be taken from them and granted to the poor, while some be for the benefit of the public treasury." The proposals, if passed, were never put into effect. But at the end of the consulship Cassius was condemned to death because he "had tried to make himself king by purchasing the favor of the people by means of donations of land." The purchasing of the people's favor could lead to only one thing, in the Senate's opinion—kingship. And the Senate refused to lose control of the public lands. (Some scholars discredit this agrarian act of Cassius, and consider it the invention of a later time.)

Spurius Maelius, a wealthy Roman plebeian, in 439 B.C., during a famine, bought a large amount of grain and sold it at a low price to the people. Lucius Minicius, *praefectus annonae*, accused him of trying to gain public favor in order to make himself king. When Maelius refused to appear in answer to the summons of Cincinnatus, the dictator, Gaius Servilius killed him, destroyed his home, took his property, and gave away his

grain. And so the second suspected aspirant to regal power had been removed.

In 133 B.C., Tiberius Gracchus, as tribune, by his agrarian measures limited the amount of public land to three hundred acres a person, plus a hundred and fifty acres for each son. The patricians were to be recompensed for any permanent improvements made on the land which they were to relinquish. The reclaimed land was to be divided into small farms of twenty acres each. Tiberius Gracchus also lessened the power of the Senate by giving more power to the people's assembly. When Tiberius stood for the office of tribune again the following year, the Senate was aroused because he had put through his agrarian laws in spite of senatorial opposition. If Tiberius Gracchus could hold office year after year, and get laws passed in spite of the Senate, the Senate decided that it must put an end to his domination. Accordingly, Tiberius and three hundred of his followers were killed in the Forum on election day. And another person whom the Senate feared had been disposed of.

Gaius Gracchus, as tribune in 123 B.C., gained the favor of the people with his public works program and with his grain law, which provided that the state buy grain and sell it to citizens below the average retail price. Gaius Gracchus established new colonies in Italy, and sent six thousand settlers to Carthage to establish a colony there. He changed the tribute of the province of Asia to tithes on agricultural products, the collection of which brought financial interests into politics. The capitalists were for the most part *equites*; and from this group Gaius secured by law that the juries of the standing courts should be chosen. At the expiration of his term of office, Gaius considered that he needed a bodyguard. Martial law was declared. One of the consuls, accompanied by troops, met him on the Aventine; and the report went out that Gaius was dead—whether murdered or a suicide nobody seemed to know.

Though the Senate punished relentlessly, men continued to aspire to power. In 102 B.C., Saturninus and Glaucia gained control of the assembly by foul means and mob force. For greater power, they united with Marius. Partly by their help Marius gained his sixth consulship. After a year and a half of domination by Saturninus and Glaucia, the Senate decreed martial law, and Marius was called upon to help enforce it. Although Marius had to arrest the men, he tried to protect them; but they were stoned to death by supporters of the Senate. And one more attempt at illegal power had been crushed.

In 91 B.C., Gaius Livius Drusus, as tribune, brought about a compromise on the courts, on the assigning of land, on

the distribution of grain, and on the granting of citizenship to all Italians—in one law. But his decree was cancelled by the Senate, and he was assassinated. Again the Senate brooked no infringement of its assumed rights.

Marius, after defeating Jugurtha and the Cimbri and Teutons, clashed with Sulla over the command of the Mithridatic War in the East. Sulla, as consul, was granted the command by the Senate. Marius, in an assembly of the people, had the command given to himself. Sulla marched on Rome, defeated

their term of office might govern provinces for one year only. Criminal courts were established with a praetor in charge and a jury of senators.

After working out all these measures by which he felt sure he had placed the reins of government back in the hands of the Senate so securely that nothing could wrench them away, Sulla retired.

Julius Caesar recognized early in his political career that he as an individual had no opportunity to achieve his ambition with the Senate in control of the government; accordingly, he set out deliberately with the fixed purpose of breaking the power of the Senate.

In 70 B.C., Pompey and Crassus, each with an army behind him, gained the consulship. The Senate had no leader, and no trust in its own ability. Though Cicero championed the republic's cause against Catiline in 63 B.C., when Catiline tried to overthrow the government, the Senate did not trust him, since he was a *novus homo*.

In 60 B.C., Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar united with the avowed purpose of dominating the government. During his consulship, in 59 B.C., Caesar refused to recognize the authority of the Senate in any respect.

In 56 B.C., while governor of Gaul, Caesar met with his two colleagues at Lucca to renew the triumvirate. Two hundred senators also came—a fact which demonstrates that not all the senators were banded together to hold their power in their own hands. It was decided at the meeting that Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls the following year. Provinces for Pompey (the two Spains) and Crassus (Syria) were agreed upon. Caesar's command in Gaul was extended for another five years, at the expiration of which he was to stand for the consulship again. Caesar's legions were to be increased to ten, and they were to be paid from the public treasury. Caesar was to quiet Clodius, and Quintus Cicero was to quiet his own brother. The Senate, wherever possible, was to be bought off.

In 54 B.C., Crassus left for his province Syria; there he was killed. Anarchy was rife in Rome. Riots prevented elections for 52 B.C. At last Pompey was made sole consul, to bring order out of the chaos.

At the close of 50 B.C., Caesar left Gaul a conquered province. The civil war which ensued ended all of Pompey's and the republic's opposition. By 45 B.C. it was obvious that Caesar planned to be ruler; he was appointed dictator for life. The Senate still existed as a body, but it acted only as Caesar wished.

The conspirators against Caesar saw his removal as the one means by which the state could free itself. Loyal friends

ANNUNCIATION

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Ancilla mitis Domini,
Secundum verbum Angeli,
Libenter fit Sanctissimi
Beata Mater Filii.

O dulcis Virgo, gratias
Habemus tibi meritas.
Fundatur tua caritas,
Nobisque sit humilitas.

Marius, and left for the East. Marius, left in Rome, seized complete control of the state, killing the consuls and Sulla's friends and confiscating their property. In 86 B.C. Marius and Cinna became consuls; but Marius soon died, leaving Cinna in power for two years longer, until he was killed. Rome was growing accustomed to one-man control, and to the failure of the Senate to master the situation.

Sulla returned in 83 B.C., defeated the consul's army, slew nearly five thousand of Marius' party, and seized control of the government. After defeating the Samnites, who had risen against Rome, Sulla was elected dictator for an unlimited period of time, for the purpose of reorganizing the government. Sulla put the Senate back in full control of the state. He increased the number of senators from three hundred to six hundred. Men who had been quaestors were now eligible for membership in the Senate. The number of quaestors was increased to twenty, and the minimum age for a quaestor was fixed at thirty. Sulla also revived the law forbidding reelection to the consulship until after the expiration of an interval of ten years. He restored the *cursus honorum*, and limited the veto power of the tribunes. A tribune was disqualified from standing for any other office. Senatorial approval was necessary for measures submitted to the assemblies. The regular magistrates (two consuls and eight praetors) at the expiration of

and leaders made a last final effort to retain their republic; on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., Caesar fell, at the base of Pompey's statue.

After the fall of Caesar there followed a short transitional period for which the "liberators" had failed to provide. Octavianus came to Rome, and united with Mark Antony and Lepidus in the second triumvirate, in 43 B.C. Ultimately the aged Lepidus was stripped of his share of the government and relegated to chief pontiff of Rome. The defeat of Mark Antony at Actium in 31 B.C. was decisive. Octavianus was left in complete control of the state. One man finally and irrevocably held the reins of the government, and a new epoch of Roman history had begun—the empire.



VERGIL AND A DELIAN DANCE

A Condensation of a Paper

By LILLIAN B. LAWLER

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IN THE fourth book of Vergil's *Aeneid* there is a passage (lines 143-150) which I believe is of great importance for the history of the ancient dance. There has, of course, been no dearth of commentary upon the passage, from Servius on down to the most recent editor of the *Aeneid*; but there seem to be in it a few implications which have not as yet been noted.

Vergil is comparing Aeneas to the god Apollo, using the hero's beauty, lightness, and swiftness as the chief points of comparison. "Such a one as Apollo," says Vergil, "when he leaves his winter home, Lycia, and the flowing waters of the Xanthus"—presumably in spring—"and visits his mother's Delos, and renews the dances. And mingling (*mixti*) around the altar, Cretans and Dryopians and tattooed Agathyrsians roar (*fremunt*). He himself moves along the heights of Cynthus, and binds and controls his flowing hair with soft leaves, and twines it with gold. His weapons clang on his shoulders . . ." Apollo, as we see, actually takes part in the dances—unless we posit a dance of human beings at the foot of the hill, with the divine dancer performing alone, far above them, on the heights of Cynthus!

With this passage is to be associated another in the *Aeneid*—i, 498-504, in which Dido is likened to Diana: "As she is when she plies the dances on the banks of the Eurotas, or over the crests of Cynthus," wearing her quiver on her shoulder; "a thousand Oreads" follow her (*secutae*) in a throng (*glomerantur*); and, at sight of her, "joy pervades the quiet breast of Latona."

We have, then, in two places in the

Aeneid a positive tradition of ritual dances upon the summit of Mount Cynthus, on the island of Delos. The one passage savors of reality, with its "roaring" and tattooed human performers—all men, apparently; the other may be purely mythological, or may, on the other hand, hint at dances of large numbers of women. In each case there is mention of a mother goddess, and of a "younger" divinity who is thought of as taking part in the dance.

The Delos of Vergil's own day had no such dances. Four epigrams of the Greek Anthology (ix, 408, 421, 550, 100), all by contemporaries of Vergil, attest the deserted condition of the island in the Augustan Age. Archelaus in 88 or 87 B.C., and the pirates in 69 B.C. and repeatedly thereafter, had pillaged Delos thoroughly, had carried off many of its inhabitants into slavery, and had impoverished the rest. Nor is there evidence of such dances on Cynthus in classical Greek times, although we have a good bit of information, from both literary and archaeological sources, on the rituals and dances of Delos in the historical period. Of course such an argument from silence is dangerous; but the absence of any record of such striking dances would seem curious, to say the least. We may conjecture that Vergil either invented the dances (and the circumstantial detail would suggest that he did not), or derived them from some Greek writer who preserved a tradition of a prehistoric ritual.

Over forty years ago, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf suggested ("Apollon," *Hermes* xxxviii, 1903, 578 and note 2) that Vergil may have drawn his Delian dance from "a learned Hellenistic poet." In this connection one would think first, naturally, of Apollonius of Rhodes, whose *Argonautica* Vergil studied and imitated. As a matter of fact, the two similes we have noted are very like two in Apollonius. In i, 307-311, Jason is compared to Apollo as he journeys to Delos or broad Lycia "near the stream of Xanthus." In iii, 876-886, Medea is compared to Artemis, who, incidentally, is surrounded by whining and fawning beasts. Certainly Vergil had these passages in mind when he wrote the lines which we are considering. There is in these passages, however, no specific mention of dances on Mount Cynthus. Nor is there mention of the Cynthian dances elsewhere in the *Argonautica*, although there are three passages which may possibly have a bearing upon those dances—viz., i, 536-9, where the author speaks of a dance of youths in honor of Apollo, in Delphi or Delos or "by the waters of Ismenus"; i, 1130-8, an account of an armed dance to the mother goddess Rhea; and ii, 686-710, where we

find dances of men to Apollo and Leto. Vergil did not get the dances of Mount Cynthus, then, from Apollonius alone. It is possible that Vergil and Apollonius may have used a common source for their similes, each author keeping some of the material in the source, and omitting some.

What that source may have been is a mystery. It was not the *Homeric Hymn to the Pythian Apollo*; nor was it the *Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo*, although lines 140-1 of that poem do say that Apollo "walked on craggy Cynthus" soon after his birth. Nor was it Callimachus' famous *Hymn to Delos*, nor his *Hymn to Artemis*. It was not the choral ode in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* 101-29, nor similar passages dealing with dances to Leto. Probably Vergil used some or all of these Greek works; but his lines contain information which appears in none of them. It is intriguing to think that his source may have been a now lost ode of Pindar—*For the Cean, to Delos*, perhaps, a fragment of which mentions dances, or *For the Athenians, to Delos* (cf. fragments 4 and 5, Loeb); but such a conjecture is incapable of proof.

Excavations on Delos, especially those of recent years, have been most interesting in this connection. French archaeologists have found that the summit of Mount Cynthus was inhabited in the last centuries of the third millennium B.C., probably by Carians or "Leleges." The very names *Cynthus* and *Leto* may be Carian; they are not Greek. We recall that when the Athenians "purified" Delos in the fifth century B.C. they found many Carian tombs (Thuc. i, 8). Apparently the rude altar on the summit of Cynthus was particularly sacred even in the third millennium. The famous cave on the slope of Cynthus, although it has been the subject of heated debate, must have had some cult significance in very early times; Minoan remains have been found near it. The nature of the religion of the original inhabitants has not been ascertained, but contemporary peoples in the Cyclades had solar cults, and a cult of a mother goddess. (It is significant that the Persians, worshippers of the sun, refrained from sacking Delos—Herod. vi, 97.) Archaeological finds indicate that at the height of the Minoan period Cynthus was suddenly abandoned; this accords with Greek legends to the effect that Minos of Crete drove the Carians out of the Aegean, to suppress piracy (Thuc. i, 4 and 8; cf. Herod. i, 171; Strabo xiv, 2, 27). For many centuries thereafter Delos was apparently uninhabited. In the Mycenaean period, after the fall of Crete, and before the Trojan War, the island was reoccupied as suddenly as it had been abandoned. The altar on the summit of Cynthus was

honored again, and the island became once more an important religious center.

We shall not enter into the much-discussed problem of the origin and dissemination of the cult of Apollo. Suffice it to say that in many parts of the Greek world his worship displaced that of earlier deities of somewhat similar attributes; and it is significant that even on Delos, Apollo's island, Mount Cynthus was, from early Greek times on down to the Roman period, sacred to Zeus Cynthius and Athena Cynthia—a sky god and a descendant of the great Cretan goddess. It seems highly probable, then, that if prehistoric dances really took place on Cynthus, they were performed to a pre-Greek sky or sun deity, who was associated with a powerful earth or mother goddess, and who later was equated either with Zeus or with Apollo by the Greeks. In the dances, the lesser deity may have been impersonated by a priest or a priestess—a practice which is well attested throughout the Mediterranean area.

It is no accident, in my opinion, that all of the peoples mentioned by Vergil as participating in the dances on Cynthus were prominent in the post-Minoan or Late Helladic Age. Furthermore, they represent the chief geographical centers of the culture of the Aegean basin in that age (and, incidentally, the chief stopping-places of Aeneas in the third book of the *Aeneid*). The Cretans, whether descendants of the Minoans or immigrants from Greece proper, carried on in that period many of the religious and cultural traditions of the Minoan age. The Dryopians are representative of the tribes that had moved south into Greece, and had developed the Mycenaean civilization of the mainland (Paus. iv, 34, 6-12). The Agathyrsians are representative of the Thracian peoples to the north, who reached their greatest cultural heights in the Bronze Age (with possibly some hint also of the half-mythical Hyperboreans who from remote prehistoric times sent gifts to Delos). Even the mention of Lycia may be significant—Lycia, representative of Asia Minor, given a place in the dances in the person of Apollo himself. In prehistoric times each of the peoples indicated had a cult of a mother goddess (in Lycia she was Leto), and a sky or sun god who was sometimes the son, sometimes the consort, of the goddess; also, each revered mountains.

I believe, then, that Vergil preserves for us, from some Greek source now lost, a true and very ancient memory of real ritual dances on Mount Cynthus, performed in the spring by various peoples of the Late Helladic period, in honor of several deities who seemed to them to have elements in common. Some of the

dances may have been performed by men and some by women; but the description of the dance of men sounds more circumstantial and convincing. A priest or a priestess, costumed as one of the "younger" deities, may have mingled with the dancers.

We may hazard one or two conjectures as to the nature of the dances. Among all the peoples mentioned there were orgiastic, ecstatic vegetation rituals. In Thrace, indeed, and in northern Asia Minor, these rites gave rise to the familiar Dionysiac revels of classical times; and one notes in this connection a state-



AN IDEA

The editors of *Classicum Manitobense*, a Canadian news-letter, are this year offering a cash prize of five dollars for the best original Latin paragraph of between 150 and 200 words, written by a secondary school student in the province of Manitoba, on any one of the following topics: (1) "Pacem exspectat orbis terrarum"; (2) "Quae video per agros ego ambulans"; (3) "Opus quod libenter facio." Perhaps one of our state classical associations might be interested in a similar project.



ment in Macrobius (*Sat.* i, 18, 11): "In Thracia eundem haberi Solem atque Liberum accipimus, quem illi Sebazium nuncupantes, magnifica religione celebrant . . . eique deo in colle Zilmisso aedes dicata est . . ." The same author says the Thracians believe "eundem esse Apollinem ac solem"; also, that the votaries of Liber prophesy. Hence we have a combined sun and fertility cult, with orgiastic rituals, on a hill. The verb *fremunt*, used by Vergil, is significant; it may indicate dances involving frenzy and "possession" of the dancers' spirit by a deity. The traditional connection of Cynthus with prophecy fits in with this interpretation; for the utterances of frenzied dancing votaries and priests are always respected as the words of the deity by their co-religionists. We note that Vergil speaks of the Agathyrsians as tattooed. Archaeologists have demonstrated that not only the Thracian peoples, but the Cretans and the Mycenaeans as well, made use of this practice; also, that there is some connection between tattooing and orgiastic ritual. It seems likely, then, for these several reasons, that the dances on Cynthus were ecstatic.

In Athenaeus (xiv, 629 e) there is a list of names of "frenzied" (*maniodeis*) dances, among them one which is va-

riously called *mingas* or *mongas* in the manuscripts. In the *Argonautica* occurs a line the phrasing of which recalls Vergil's simile (iv, 320)—"Scythians mingled with Thracians . . ."—in which the word *migades* suggests Vergil's *immixti* (cf. Eurip. *Bacch.* 18). It may be that the correct reading in Athenaeus is *mingas*, and that the reference is actually to such dances as those mentioned by Vergil. Incidentally, in the five lines immediately preceding, Athenaeus discusses various Thracian and Phrygian dances.

Among primitive peoples, dances to a solar deity often take the form of a circle, with clockwise motion, sympathetic magic for the apparent course of the sun. We note that in the Vergil passage the dancers move *altaria circum*.

It is possible that some of the dances on Cynthus were armed dances. In the Vergil similes, both Apollo and Diana carry weapons as they dance; and we know that both Cretans and Thracians were noted for dances of armed men.

Another interesting possibility suggests itself, viz., that some of the dances may have been performed in animal skins or costumes. The Thracian peoples worshipped animals, and in some of their ritual dances wore fox skins or bulls' horns (Schol. Lyc. 1237). We know that animal worship is often associated with tattooing; that animal dances, performed in animal skins, were common in Mycenaean Greece; and that Cretan art is full of representations of therianthrope beings which some scholars, at least, have interpreted as masked dancers (cf. *Homer. Hymn. xiv, to the Mother of the Gods*, 3-5). A statement quoted from Theophrastus by Athenaeus (x, 424 e, f) has a bearing on this point—a reference to the "so-called dancers," prominent Athenians, who used to dance around the "temples of the Delian Apollo." They wore cloaks, he says, "ton theraiakon," usually translated "of the people of Thera." Pollux (vii, 43) says that such cloaks were worn in the satyr-play. Casaubon, followed much later by A. B. Cook ("Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age," *Jour. Hell. Stud.* xiv, 1894, 162-3) saw in "ton theraiakon" an error for an original "ton theriakon"—"made from wild animals." His reasoning seems to me convincing. There may, then, have been ritual animal dances on Delos, taken over for Apollo (and Artemis?) from an earlier, more primitive cult. In that case, the *fremunt* of the Vergil passage might have a two-fold significance.



Small casts of ancient statues may be purchased from School Arts, Printers Building, Worcester, Mass.

SOME SUBJUNCTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

By ARTHUR WINFRED HODGMAN
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Traditionally the subjunctive mood is considered difficult; but much of the difficulty will disappear if we remember that the Latin subjunctive denotes, in the main, (1) futurity, (2) the uncertainties that go with the future, or (3) mental concepts as opposed to facts. The indicative is the "great fact mood." The hortatory use of the subjunctive is back of a number of constructions commonly called by other names.

One may diagram the uses of the subjunctive by first drawing a rectangular figure. At the "northwest" corner, A, place the words "Underlying Futurity." Draw an arrow pointing towards the "northeast" corner, B, and at that corner place the word "Characteristic." Draw an arrow from A to the "southwest" corner, C, and at that corner place the word "Purpose." The "southeast" corner, D, should be marked "(Approximate) Result." An arrow should be drawn from A towards, but not to, that corner, for corner D must be kept open. An arrow from B towards D passes through "Characteristic Result," if we may use that expression.

CHARACTERISTIC

In a clause of characteristic, a person, more or less indefinite, is described as one who would do so and so under given circumstances. Such clauses take the subjunctive. If a definite person is defined, bluntly, we have *qui* with the indicative. The former construction we may say comes from "blurred vision," the latter from "clear vision." So in English we may say, "He is a man so foolish as not to go in when it rains" (blurred); or, "This is the man who doesn't go in when it rains" (clear). Characteristic subjunctive is confined to Latin and some of its derived languages.

PURPOSE

The development of the subjunctive of purpose is as follows: "Mitto nuntios; ei dicant (hortatory)." Then, "Mitto nuntios; et ei dicant (hortatory)." Finally, "Mitto nuntios qui dicant," which construction, all of a sudden, we call "purpose." Here parataxis (coordination) makes way for hypotaxis (subordination). Note that the *qui* does not influence the mood, for chronologically the subjunctive is there before the *qui*. A similar development is seen in "Mitto nuntios; ut dicant (hortatory)"—"let them somehow say." The word *ut* in this stage is best perhaps pinned down to the meaning "how." Negative purpose has

a like development: "Moneo; ne facias"—("I warn you; do not do it"). Then the construction is extended to other persons and to other tenses. "Rogo facias" is best called an example of "intermediate subjunctive," for it represents a stage before the *ut* was thought of. It is wrong to call it "purpose with *ut* omitted." A student is not "absent" from a class of which he is not a member.

FEARING

Verbs of fearing are in themselves essentially negative; they imply that something is *not* as the speaker would like to have it. E.g., "vereor; ne faciat" means "I fear; don't let him do it." The word *ne* in these sentences is like the algebraic multiplication of a negative by a negative, with positive outcome. "Vereor; ut faciat," "I fear; let him do it somehow," is algebraically, a negative multiplied by a positive, with negative outcome. Here again, parataxis yields to hypotaxis.

RESULT

Very helpful is the statement in the Gildersleeve-Lodge grammar, 551, 1: "In Latin, Result is a mere inference from Tendency, though often an irresistible inference. In other words, the Latin language uses *so as* throughout, and not *so that*, although *so that* is often a convenient translation. The result is only implied, not stated." Note that the only way to denote actual result in Latin is by *evenit ut* or *accidit ut*, where the actuality comes out in the mood, and in the meaning, of *evenit* or *accidit*. The tendency toward became an actuality—fact. It has been put this way: If purpose goes far enough, it becomes result. What was purpose on a Monday, let us say, may become a result on Wednesday; and on Saturday one speaking about it may take the point of view of Monday (purpose) or the point of view of Saturday (result)—for it is still convenient to use the word *result* in the sense of *apparent result*. This double possibility may make a difference in the tense, or in the negative conjunction used in the clause.

CONDITIONS

In conditions, note that *si* was originally the same as *sic*, and really means "so." In "Bene est si; progressi sunt," *progressi sunt* is an apposition to the adverbial *si*. Then parataxis made way for hypotaxis: "Bene est, si progressi sunt." Finally, the conditional clause may be transposed, and may stand first. Both these uses of *so* occur in English: "Walk in the light, so shalt thou find . . ." and "So you get there, it does not matter which road you take." The Romans must have lost consciousness of the identity of *si* and *sic* in such places as Plautus' *Trinummus*, 465: "Nam si sic

non licebit, luscus dixero"—"If I may not talk as I am, thus, with two eyes, I'll talk with one eye." In less vivid conditions, such as "Si; audiat; intellegat," we have a hortatory subjunctive under the condition—"Let him listen (in apposition with *si*); he would understand."

A condition contrary to fact is nothing but a less vivid future condition thrown into past time. Usually, but not always, there creeps into such a transfer to past time the implication of contrariety to fact; for we seldom state what a future point of view was in past time, if the anticipation came to pass, for the fact of the accomplishment usually overshadows the anticipation.

CUM-CLAUSES

The old spelling of *cum* is *quom*; and *cum* is quite as capable of introducing a clause of characteristic as any other relative word. Theoretically there is no reason why *cum* should not take any tense of the indicative to define, and any tense of the subjunctive to characterize. But actually the Romans, by a sort of self-denying ordinance, confined themselves to using *cum* with the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive only, and with other tenses used the indicative. So we must not look upon *cum* with the imperfect or pluperfect indicative as wrong, but simply as unusual. In Cicero, *Cat.* iii, 2, ". . . tum cum eiciebam," "tum cum volebam," *tum* points out a definite time—hence the indicative. *Cum*-causal is simply another aspect of *cum*-temporal; so in English "when" often means really "since" or "because."

CONCLUSION

So the subjunctive, far from being an unintelligible thing, turns out to be a most logical one. Senator Albert J. Beveridge once said that Latin is the most logical language the world has ever seen, or is likely ever to see. To understand it we must know the futurity inherent in the subjunctive, and must know that language never stands still—that parataxis gives place to hypotaxis, and then transposition sets in. All this occurs in English as well—e.g., "Who came? I know" became "I know who came."

All of this is to be found in our better grammars. The only justification for restating these truths here is that I do not know of any of our high-school textbooks that gives any hint of the logic back of these familiar "rules."

These explanations are not beyond the comprehension of pupils of high-school age. It certainly is good psychology to reinforce facts with reasons. If we forget the context of *Georgics* ii, 490, we can give the verse a different meaning from that which Vergil had in mind: "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas."

BOOK NOTES

Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities. No. 12, 1944-1945. Edited by Arnold H. Trotter. New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1945. Pp. xiii+68. \$1.50.

This slender volume on doctoral dissertations presented to American universities during 1944-45 will probably prove to be the most meager one in the series of which it is a part; for the impact of the war upon graduate research is very obvious in its pages. In the section on classical literature and history there are but nineteen titles; but several titles listed under other headings (philosophy, religion, art and archaeology, English literature, speech, history) are concerned with classical themes. The volume maintains the high standards of the series in such matters as typography, indices, tables, cross references, etc. No research library can afford to be without it.

—L. B. L.

Horace—His Poetry and Philosophy. By Charles Newton Smiley. New York: King's Crown Press, 1945. Pp. 42. Paper bound. \$1.00.

Most classicists love the works of the poet Horace; but to few of them is given the eloquence to express their feeling in such a way as to stir an answering chord in the minds of their readers. The late Professor Smiley was one of the few. In this unpretentious little "wartime book" the student of Roman literature will find an appreciation of Horace and his works in a style that is itself a tribute to the great poet. The first section is devoted to the life of Horace, the second to his works, the third to his philosophy and his influence upon the minds of men. There are summaries and translations of a few of the poems, and comments upon others. Throughout, there are Professor Smiley's own genial thoughts, "distilled from forty years' work" in the classroom. "I can see the quiet smile," he says, "that would play upon his (Horace's) face if he knew that a Minnesota schoolmaster was trying to canonize him. How he would chuckle and turn to his beloved Maecenas and say 'I told you so.'" College classes in Horace would enjoy the book, I believe, as much as would their instructors.

—L. B. L.



A SCHOLARSHIP

The University of Texas has announced the establishment of the W. J. Battle Classical Scholarship, founded by an ex-student and former classics "major," in honor of Professor Battle. It will be

awarded annually to a meritorious student "majoring" in Latin or Greek at the University of Texas. Further information may be obtained from Professor H. J. Leon, University of Texas, Austin 12.

Notes And Notices

Officers of the Archaeological Institute of America for the year 1946 are: President, Sterling Dow, Harvard University; General Secretary, Stephen B. Luce, The Fogg Museum; Editor of the American Journal of Archaeology, John Franklin Daniel, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Officers of the Classical Society of the American Academy in Rome for 1946 are: President, Louis E. Lord, Oberlin College; Vice-President, Lillian B. Lawler, Hunter College; Secretary, Susan M. Savage, Rockford College; Treasurer, Lucy T. Shoe, Mt. Holyoke College.

Articles of interest to teachers of the classics are the following: "English Teaching and the Classics," by A. G. Keller, School and Society 62, July 28, 1945, 49-51; "A Reply to Dr. Keller," by Frank M. Snowden, Jr., School and Society 62, September 22, 1945, 190-1; "Appealing to Leading Educators for Definiteness," by A. M. Withers, School and Society 62, October 27, 1945.

MATERIALS

The fall, 1945, number of *The Latin Leaflet*, published by the University of Texas, contains notes on the value of the classics, the status of the classics today, activities of various high school and college departments of Latin, etc. Copies may be obtained for ten cents each, from University Publications, University of Texas, Austin 12.

The Classics Department of the University of Manitoba, Canada, issues an attractive paper in mimeographed form, the *Classicum Manitobense*. It contains notes on Latin conversation, the value of the classics, etc.; jokes, and news items. Persons interested should address Dr. E. G. Berry, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada.

"The Little Museum of Greek Sculpture" is a set of 91 fine photographs of representative Greek statues and reliefs, prepared by the late Lorado Taft. The figures may be purchased in mounted form, with plywood backs and wooden block pedestals; or printed on heavy paper, to be cut out and mounted by the students themselves. The figures are well

photographed, and are scaled to the correct relative size; as a result, the effect is strikingly like that of a real museum. Mr. Taft's own lecture notes accompany the sets. For price and further details teachers should address School Arts, Printers' Building, Worcester, Mass.

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